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6 *An introduction to the Inanwatan language of Irian Jaya*

LOURENS DE VRIES

1 Introduction¹

Inanwatan (or Bira) is a Papuan language of the Inanwatan family spoken on the south coast of the Bird's Head peninsula of Irian Jaya, Indonesia. The Inanwatan language is spoken in three places. First, in the village Inanwatan on the south coast of the Bird's Head peninsula, where the Siganoi river debouches into the MacCluer Gulf. Second, at the southern entrance of Sele Strait which separates Salawati Island from the Bird's Head peninsula. And finally in the Jalan Ferry area in Sorong, the capital of Sorong regency. The Sele Strait and Sorong communities consist of migrants from the village of Inanwatan.

I chose to study the Inanwatan language² because it is a language of the south coast of the Bird's Head. This area is a linguistic *terra incognita*.³ Three of the approximately sixty Papuan language families of New Guinea are situated here. A detailed study of at least one

¹ I met Jack Prentice for the first time in 1982 when I took a Leiden University course in Indonesian that he taught. He had a good sense of humour, he loved Indonesian and he loved language. I dedicate this article on Inanwatan, one of the many beautiful languages of Indonesia, to his memory.

Abbreviations used in this paper are: 1,2,3 – first, second, third person; ADH – adhortative; ADV – adverbialiser; ASS – associative; ATTR – attributive; CAUS – causative; CF – counterfactual; CIRC – circumstantial; CONN – connective; DUR – durative; EMP – emphasis; EX – exclusive; F – feminine; FUT – future; GEN – genitive; HAB – habitual; HOD – hodiernal(today's)-present; IMP – imperative; IN – inclusive; M – masculine; NEG – negative; O – object; PERF – perfective; PL – plural; Q – question-marker; S – subject; SG – singular; SUB – subordinator; TR – transitional sound.

² This study is part of the Irian Jaya Studies programme (ISIR), an interdisciplinary programme of the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO), carried out in cooperation with LIPI (*Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia*). I collected data on Inanwatan in the first three months of 1994 and during three months in 1995. Thanks are due to Dr Hasan Alwi (director of the *Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa*, Jakarta) and to Dr A.O. Atururi (*Bupati* of the Sorong regency) for their support and interest in my research. I am also grateful to Mr Dominggus Muray of Inanwatan for teaching me the Inanwatan language and for recruiting many excellent informants.

³ Voorhoeve (1975:440) and the survey reports of Gravelle (1986), Berry and Berry (1987) and Kempf (n.d.) contained some rudimentary information about Inanwatan. Voorhoeve (1985) contained notes on the Arandai language of the South Bird's Head family.

of the languages of that area, Inanwatan, is essential to obtain a more complete picture of Papuan languages.

In this section I first discuss some structural characteristics of Inanwatan and then I turn to the relationship of Inanwatan with other Papuan and Austronesian languages. My observations are based on only six months of fieldwork. Therefore, the results are preliminary, with an emphasis on lexical, phonological and morphological data.

2 Phonology

Inanwatan has twelve consonant phonemes and five vowel phonemes. Stress is also phonemic (indicated phonemically with an acute accent on the vowel, and phonetically with an apostrophe preceding the stressed syllable). Here follow the charts of Inanwatan consonants and vowels (with allophones in brackets):

	Bilabial		Alveolar		Palatal	Velar		Glottal	
Plosives									
voiceless	p	[p]	t	[t]		k	[k]	ʔ	[ʔ]
voiced	b	[b]	d	[d]		g	[g]		
Fricatives	ɸ	[ɸ, pɸ]	s	[s, ts]					
Nasals	m	[m, β, w]	n	[n, r, ɾ]					
Semi-vowels					j	[j]			

	Front		Central	Back	
Closed	i	[i, ɪ]		u	[u]
Half-closed	e	[ɛ, e]	ə	o	[ɔ, o]
Open			a	[a, ɑ]	

In the orthography of this paper, I use the graphemes *q* for the glottal stop phoneme /ʔ/, *f* for /ɸ/, *y* for /j/. For intervocalic non-nasal allophones of /m/, I use the grapheme *w*; for the word initial [m] I use *m*. For intervocalic realisations of /n/, I use the grapheme *r*.

For reasons of space, I will limit myself to a few remarks concerning some of the consonants and vowels. There is one syllable-type: (C)V(V). Consonant clusters do not occur; nor do consonants occur finally in syllables and words. All consonants function both word initially and intervocalically, except for the marginal semi-vowel /j/ which functions only intervocalically.

The phoneme /n/ has three allophones [n], [r] and [ɾ]. The allophone [n] occurs only word initially and [r/ɾ] occur only intervocalically. The flap [ɾ] varies with the trill [r], which is the most frequent realisation. Consider the following examples: ['nɛrɔ] 'name', ['a-rɛrɔ] 'your name', ['nira] 'day', ['nira-rira] 'each day'. In adapted loan words, intervocalic /n/ is pronounced as [r/ɾ]. For example, the Patipi (see §4) word /inanwatan/ is adapted to the word structure prohibiting both final consonants and consonant clusters (> /inánowatano/) and to the allophonic patterns of the Inanwatan language ([i'rarɔwatarɔ]. Since Inanwatan has no [l], Indonesian [l] sounds are pronounced as [r/ɾ] but word initially they are pronounced as [n], e.g. ['niʒapuru] 'fifty' from Indonesian *limapuluh*.

Finally, an extremely frequent phenomenon is word initial variation of [n] and [r/r]. In citation forms, word initial [n] never varies with [r/r], but in conversation where initial /n/ is followed and immediately preceded by vowels, the phoneme is realised as [r/r]. Examples include ['muwuro 'napago] 'all rivers' (citation form), ['muwuro 'rapago] 'all rivers' (conversation form).

The facts mentioned above can be accounted for in the simplest way by assuming an alveolar nasal phoneme /n/ which has an oral alveolar realisation [r/r] between vowels.

For the bilabial nasal /m/ with its allophones [m], [w] and [β], the argument runs along the same lines with the additional argument of symmetry since our allophone assumptions yield two neatly symmetrical rows of bilabial and alveolar consonants.

The allophone [m] occurs word initially, [w] intervocalically adjacent to back vowels /o/ or /u/, and [β] elsewhere. Examples: ['muwuro] 'rivers'; ['naβe] 'me (object)'.

In adapted loan words, the intervocalic [m] of source forms is pronounced as [w] or [β] and the initial [w] of source forms as [m]. Examples: Dutch *emmer* 'pail' is adapted to ['eβero] 'pail'; Indonesian *wakil* 'deputy' is adapted to ['makiri] 'deputy headman', Indonesian *kacamata* 'glasses' is adapted to ['karowato]; Indonesian *limapuluh* 'fifty' to Inanwatan ['niβapuru]. (Regarding the initial [n] of this word, see above.) Dutch *commissie*, a term used for the Patipi headmen appointed by the Dutch administration to rule Inanwatan, is adapted to ['kōwisi].

In morpheme sequencing, the allophonic relationship between [m] and [w/β] also surfaces, for example ['miri] 'stomach', ['na-βiri] 'my stomach'. Finally, word initially [m] and [w/β] are in variation, conditioned by use in conversation or in citation; since all words end in a vowel in Inanwatan, in conversation word initial /m/ is followed and preceded by vowels and accordingly receives a [w/β] realisation. Uttered in citation, the initial /m/ is realised as [m]. Examples include:

['wōiwo 'mētē] (citation form)
there they.sat
'They were there'

['wōiwo 'wētē] (conversation form)
there they.sat
'They were there'

The /ʔ/ functions as a consonant phoneme in Inanwatan. Evidence for this comes from contrasts in identical or near-identical environments and from vowel elision phenomena.

To start with the latter, consider the following data:

['εpe] 'tooth'
['n-εpe] 'my tooth'

In these examples, vowel elision takes place: the final vowel of the first singular possessive prefix /na-/ 'my' is elided before the initial vowel of /épe/ 'tooth'. But in the following examples the glottal stop functions as an initial consonant and blocks vowel elision:

[ʔεpe] 'foot'
['na-ʔεpe] 'my foot'

So far we have found the following contrastive evidence for /ʔ/:

/ʔ/-/p/:

[ʔʔɔ]	‘new’
[ʔʔpɔ]	‘small stick; splinter’

/ʔ/-/k/:

[ʔɛdidau]	‘sago species’ (with long spines)
[ʔkɛʔidau]	‘sago beetle’
[ʔɔpɔra]	‘don’t’
[ʔkɔpɔrao]	‘civil servant’
[ʔɛrɛɔ]	‘(thatched) roof’
[ʔkɛrɛɔ]	‘sea-turtle’

/ʔ/-/t/:

[ʔaʔɔ]	‘room’
[ʔatɔ]	‘mouse’
[ʔmɛ-ʔɛ-rɛ]	‘they spoke’
[ʔmɛ-tɛ-rɛ]	‘they sat’

Vowels in stressed syllables tend to be lengthened. The vowels /e/ and /a/ in unstressed syllables of the CV type may show some reduction in the direction of [ə] but this is rather rare, even in fast colloquial speech. Recorded examples include:

[ʔsɪdɛɔ]	‘parrot’
[ʔsɪdəɔ]	‘parrot’
[na- ¹ gawɔ]	‘my chin’
[nə- ¹ gawɔ]	‘my chin’

Vowels in unstressed initial syllables of the V type (as in [ɔʔrɔwɔ] ‘spear’) show reduction in the form of devoicing, sometimes leading to completely devoiced vowels.

Sequences of two vowel phonemes occur frequently in Inanwatan, as in the following words:

[ɔɛra]	‘bind.IMP.SG’
[ʔaʔrɔɔ]	‘crab’
[ʔaɔ]	‘wood’
[ʔgawɔɔ]	‘thumb’

In conversation, the second vowel of the sequence, syllabic in citation forms, becomes non-syllabic. Thus:

[ʔna.i.ti]	‘I’ (citation form, CV.V.CV)
[ʔnai.ti]	‘I’ (conversation form, CVV.CV)

So far, such gliding pronunciations of vowel phoneme sequences have been found with /ai/, /ae/, /au/, /ao/ and /ou/.

The vowels in VV sequences may also be identical (double vowels). With double vowels, usually there are two clearly audible breath pulses in citation. In conversation, the double vowels tend to be realised as a long vowel. I found clear cases of double vowels in the following two contexts. In the first place, when morpheme-sequencing results in double vowels. Compare:

- /mé-*era*-re/ '3.S-say-PAST (She/They said)'
 /mé-*ra*-re/ '3.S-take-PAST (She/They took)'

Secondly, some words with a /V[?]V/ sequence have been found to have variant forms without the medial glottal stop, resulting in a double vowel, giving contrasts like the following:

- /sí[?]iwo/ 'grass'
 /síiwo/ 'grass'
 /síwo/ 'comb'

Word stress is unpredictable and distinctive. Stress is a combination of pitch, force and length but pitch is the dominating element; note the following pairs:

- /áwero/ 'above'
 /awéro/ 'grandmother'
 /me[?]ó/ 'rope'
 /mé[?]o/ 'wood'
 /tó[?]o/ 'bone'
 /to[?]ó/ 'palmwine'

With some words stress has been found to vary, for example /mído/ 'sand', /midó/ 'sand'.

3 Morphology

In a previous article I presented an overview of the morphology of the Inanwatan language (De Vries 1996). Here I will only provide a summary. The Naworae text in §3 illustrates many morphological traits mentioned in this summary.

Verbs are inflected for subject person and number, object person and number, subject gender, tense, mood, aspect and negation. Subject and object are cross-referenced by verbal prefixes, with the exception of counterfactual and third person future forms which have subject suffixes.

In nouns, number (singular and plural) and gender (feminine and masculine) are distinguished. In the plural, gender distinctions are neutralised. Gender in nouns seems to be signalled by the last vowel. As a rule, nouns ending in a front vowel (/i/, /e/) are masculine and the remaining nouns (ending in /o/ and /a/) are feminine.

The adjective shows gender agreement in both attributive and predicative uses with the noun it qualifies. When the noun is masculine, the adjective ends in /e/ or /i/, when it is feminine the adjective ends in /o/.

- (1) *méqaro sówat-o*
 house good-F
 'a good house'

- (2) *fúgi sówat-e*
 banana good-M
 'a good banana'

In demonstratives and in the forms of the copula verb, gender is expressed in the opposition between /w/ (feminine) and /s/ (masculine), for example *ewái* 'this (F)' and *esái* 'this (M)'.

- (3) *méqaro e-wái sówat-o-wo*
 house ATTR-this.F.SG good-F-be.3SG.F
 'This house is good.'
- (4) *fúgi e-sái ápew-i-so*
 banana ATTR-this.M.SG delicious-M-be.3SG.M
 'This banana is delicious.'

The copula forms cliticise to the feminine and masculine adjectives in (3) and (4).

The Inanwatan traditionally count on hands and feet. Counting starts on the left little finger. The numerals from 1 to 4 reveal a binary system ($3=2+1$; $4=2+2$). The numerals 5 (one hand), 10 (both hands), and 20 (one body) are body part based and combine with the numerals for 1–4 and with each other to form additive numeral phrases. Gestures tend to accompany the use of the numerals. The system is rapidly being replaced by Indonesian numerals.

- 1 *mútero/nagiáre/naguáre* (bending the little finger)
- 2 *éri-wo* (bending the ring finger)
two-F
- 3 *éri-naguáre* (bending the middle finger)
two-one
- 4 *éri-éri-dáre* (bending the index finger)
two-two-?
- 5 *néwo-gáago* (clenching left fist)
hand-side
- 6 *néwo-gáago nagiáre* (bending the right little finger)
hand-side one
- 7 *néwo-gáago éridare* (bending right ring finger)
hand-side two
- 8 *néwo-gáago éri-naguare* (bending right middle finger)
hand-side two-one
- 9 *néwo-gáago éri-éri-dare* (bending right index finger)
hand-side two-two
- 10 *néwo-wa sugéri* (clapping two hands)
hand-PL both
- 11 *néwo-wa sugéri mútero* (touching left little toe)
hand-PL both one

- 15 *néwo-wa sugéri néwo-gáago* (touching left big toe)
hand-PL both hand-side
- 16 *néwo-wa sugéri néwo-gáago nagiáre*
hand-PL both hand-side one
(touching right little toe)
- 20 *nágia ga íragiro*
one ASS body
- 21 *nágia ga íragiro mútero*
one ASS body one
- 30 *nágia ga íragiro néwo-wa sugéri*
one ASS body hand-PL both
- 40 *eridá ga iragíro*
two ASS body
- 100 *néwo-gáagua ga íragíro*
hand-side ASS body

The personal pronouns of Inanwatan are differentiated for subject, object and emphatic subject positions. Inanwatan has both free and bound possessive pronominal forms. The free forms express gender of the possessor. The third person singular free forms express double gender: male or female possessor plus the cross-referenced gender of the possessed noun (masculine: *-so*; feminine: *-wo*), such as:

- (5) *tigidáe-so suqére*
his-M sago
'his sago'
- (6) *tigae-so suqére*
her-M sago
'her sago'

The bound forms, used for body parts and kinship terms, do not differentiate gender. They occur only in the first and second person. When possession is not expressed on inalienably possessed nouns, third person possessors are understood. The inalienably possessed nouns indicate gender by the stem final vowel. Examples:

- (7) *ná-wir-i me-tutú-rita-bi*
my-belly-M 3.S-hurt-DUR-M
'I (male) have pain in my belly.'
- (8) *mír-o me-tutú-rita*
belly-F 3.S-hurt-DUR
'She has pain in her belly.'

A number of postpositions express nominal case relations. So far I have found *-qai(de)* 'in/at' (locative), *-wai* 'to(wards)' (direction), *-woide* 'from' (direction), *-(u)ru* '(together) with' (comitative), *-wo* 'in, at' and *-go*, a general circumstantial case suffix occurring with time, instrument, manner and place nominals, as in:

- (9) *irarói-go sé-ra*
 quick-CIRC go-IMP.SG
 'Go quickly!'

As far as conjunctions go, there is a subordinating conjunction *-qe* which cliticises to the verb which comes last in a clause. Clauses with this clitic are interpreted either as an adverbial clause or as a relative clause. Consider the examples (10) and (11).

- (10) *sídepa-o mé-i-de-qe nári nésiror-i-go*
 Japanese-PL 3.S-descend-PAST-SUB I little-M-CIRC
 'When the Japanese came, I was a little boy.'
- (11) *qóqora-o né-ri-be-qe áwete-wa mé-iba-be*
 chicken-F 1SG.S-eat-HOD⁴-SUB who-this.F 3.S-sell-HOD
 'Who sold the chicken which I ate?'

The coordinating clitic *-(e)re* which coordinates nouns is also used as an interclausal coordinator:

- (12) *nó-opo-be-re né-ri-be-re né-re-be*
 1SG.S-take.a.bath-HOD-and 1SG.S-eat-HOD-and 1SG.S-sleep-HOD
 'I took a bath, ate and slept.'

4 Inanwatan relationships with two Austronesian *lingue franche*, Patipi and regional Malay

The language and village name Inanwatan originates from a Patipi expression meaning 'sago only' (*inan* 'sago' and *sewatan* 'one', see §1). The immense sago swamps of the area inspired Patipi colonists to call the area Inanwatan.

Patipi is a village on the south coast of the Bomberai peninsula, in the Onin area. It is also the name of the local dialect of Onin in Patipi (although the Onin language is presently known as Patipi on Bird's Head). The North Moluccan sultans of Tidore had their 'middle men' in the Onin area, who established trade monopolies on the south coast of the Bird's Head, especially where major rivers debouched into the MacCluer Gulf and the Seram Sea. These 'middle men' had the Malay title *raja* 'local head'. There were *rajas* in Rumbati, Patipi, Ati-Ati and Fatagar and each *raja* had his own section of the Bird's Head's south coast where he had some influence through representatives who settled near river mouths (see Vink 1932:41). The *raja* of Patipi sent representatives to the Siganoi river mouth where they engaged in slave trade with the Inanwatan people. To obtain slaves, the Inanwatan raided the interior but also neighbouring coastal peoples like the Yahadian. In exchange for slaves, they received *ikat* cloths, iron tools and weapons and guns from the Patipi 'middle men'. Although these *rajas* of Patipi never established a regular government in the Inanwatan area, the Patipi colonists in Inanwatan married local women and Patipi words were borrowed into the Inanwatan language.

To confirm the Patipi origin of the name Inanwatan and to investigate lexical links between Inanwatan and Patipi, an Austronesian language, I visited the Patipi-speaking village Kokas in October 1995. Examples of Inanwatan words with Patipi origin: *náti* 'raja'

⁴ HOD refers to the Hodiernal-Present tense for events taking place at the moment of utterance (= 'now') or before that moment but after yesterday's sunset (= 'today', Latin *hodie*).

(<Patipi *nati*), *nóto* 'cloth; sarong' (<Patipi *not*), *pásao* 'rice' (<Patipi *pasa*), *sósorao* 'forked fishing spear' (<Patipi *sosona*), *pípiiso* 'money' (<Patipi *pitis*).

Between the sixteenth and the nineteenth century, Patipi had become an important lingua franca in the MacCluer Gulf area. Old Inanwatan people told me that the first Protestant evangelists in Inanwatan (from 1908 onward) used a mixture of Patipi and Malay in their sermons. The senior Dutch civil servant F.H. Dumas (1911:9) writes in his *Nota van Overgave*: "*De op Bira geplaatste ambtenaar E.A. Tanasale is [...] de Papoeataal van Onin, die ook daar verstaan wordt machtig.*" ('The civil servant E.A. Tanasale who has been placed in Bira knows the Papuan language of Onin which is also understood there.')

With the arrival of the Dutch colonial administration in Inanwatan in 1908, the Patipi influence diminished, although the Dutch initially ruled the Inanwatan area through appointed Patipi *raja* who were called *raja-commissie* (*kówisi* in the Inanwatan language).

The relationship with Onin and Patipi is strongly reflected in the oral tradition of the Inanwatan people. This is exemplified by a story that I recorded about Namora (Indonesian pronunciation) or Naworae (Inanwatan pronunciation), the first *raja* of Inanwatan who came from Patipi.⁵ He became the father of the Inanwatan clan Naworae. This clan name also occurs in the Onin area, in the village Puar, and the Inanwatan Naworae people and the Onin Namora people regard each other as kinsmen.

In the first line the story is announced as belonging to the *túgarido* genre, clan-possessed oral history.⁶ According to this text, Naworae came from Patipi and settled on a small island in the Siganoi headwater opposite the mouth of the Solowat river. He married local women, introduced iron weapons and tools to the Inanwatan, engaged in slave trade with them and was finally killed by the Inanwatan people because he demanded too many girls to be given to him in marriage. Here follows the first part of the story, with adapted Malay items in bold and unadapted Malay items underlined:

- (13) *Nawórae aga séro túgarido né-qe-rita*⁷
 Naworae ASS story inheritance 1SG-speak-DUR
 'I am telling the history of Naworae.'
- (14) *Nawóra-esai Patipi-wotewe wé-de-wo-re*⁸
 Namora-this Patipi-from 3.S-go.across-come-PAST
 'Naworae came across from Patipi.'
- (15) *mé-de-wo-i ewáíwa muró-wai mura*
 3.S-go.across-come-PAST.SG.M and river-this.SG.F river(GEN)
*gárebo-wai ura-wai Sarátubiro Nawétira-wo*⁹
 mouth-this.SG.F DEM-this.SG.F Sartubir Nawétira-CONN

⁵ This story was told to me by B. Mitogai, a former *Kepala Desa* of Inanwatan (born in Inanwatan around 1930) in March 1994 in his house in Inanwatan.

⁶ Every clan in the Inanwatan community possesses its own oral tradition. An important genre is the *túgarido séro*, sacred oral history about the origin of the clan, relations with other clans and tribes, and so on. The word *séro* means 'word, story, quarrel, argument, problem'. The word *túgarido* means heritage and is also used for inherited objects such as antique guns and plates. The *túgarido* texts are in contrast with the genre of the *eqiqa sero* 'folktales'. A *túgarido* text and a *túgarido* object often belong together.

⁷ This is a conventional opening formula for a *túgarido* text.

⁸ Since Naworae had to cross the MacCluer Gulf separating Inanwatan from Patipi, the compound *de-wo* 'to cross-come' is used.

⁹ A small stream flowing from Inanwatan to the sea, with its mouth close to Cape Sartubir.

Nawétira-wo máiwo-qede mura gárebo jadi
 Nawétira-CONN here-from river(GEN) mouth therefore

máiwo-qede máso-we-ge-i
 here-from enter-3.S-do-PAST.M.SG

'He came across and via the mouth of the Nawetira river, at Cape Sartubir he entered.'

- (16) *ewáíwa terus mo-uwo-i-re mó-uwu-i*
 and next 3.S-come.upriver-PAST.M.SG-and 3.S-sit-PAST.M.SG

nusíro úra mó-uwu-ge Sorowáto gárebo-qai
 island DEM 3.S-sit-PAST Solowat mouth-at

'And having come upriver, he settled on the island, they settled opposite the mouth of the Solowat river.'

- (17) *máiwo wó-uwu-i ewáíwa ao nésaro áwuga era-era-ro*
 here 3.S-sit-PAST.M.SG and his smithy iron(GEN) piece-piece-PL

tétewo ogó-we-de-wo-i
 all carry-3.S-go.across-come-PAST.M.SG

'Here he settled and he brought across pieces of iron for his smithy.'

- (18) *mái-wo ura-sai tigó mírago mé-qobo-rita táwaro*
 this-at DEM-this.M.SG there machete 3.S-hit-DUR steel.axe
sósorao-wo¹⁰ orówo ádawao mái-wo ura me-wága-rita-i-re
 fish.spear-CONN lance harpoon this-at DEM 3.S-make-DUR-PAST.M-and

dáro itatábo-wasu túkari-we-rita-i suqére-go
 our(IN) ancestors-these exchange-3.S-DUR-PAST.M sago-CIRC

wé-iba-rita-i
 3.S-trade-DUR-PAST.M.SG

'And there he pounded into shape machetes, axes, fishing spears, lances and harpoons, there he made them and traded them with our ancestors for sago.'

- (19) *érerau-wasu nábwawo wé-we-rita-re baru mírago sówato*
 other-these slave 3.S-give-DUR-PAST next machete good

mé-we-rita-i táwaro sówato buat mogógo áreto
 3.S-give-DUR-PAST.M.SG steel.axe good for for thing

wé-ra-rita-re itatábo iówosu
 3.S-make-DUR-PAST ancestors those

'Others gave slaves and he gave good machetes, good axes for the ancestors to do things.'

The Austronesian language Patipi functioned as the primary contact and trade language in the MacCluer Gulf area in pre-European times, but, after the arrival of the Dutch around 1900, Moluccan Malay took over that role. Of course, Malay had already established itself as the interregional lingua franca in the MacCluer Gulf area for contacts with peoples from outside the area long before the Dutch established government posts there.

¹⁰ From Patipi *sosona*, a hooked fishing spear (Malay *kelawai*).

The regional variety of Indonesian spoken on the Bird's Head south coast still has Moluccan Malay characteristics. In fact, a range of varieties of Indonesian is used, from formal varieties approximating standard Indonesian to very informal varieties with strong Moluccan Malay and Bazaar Malay features.

Under the pressure from regional Malay, Inanwatan seems to be dying out in a gradual process of generational erosion. Generally speaking, only people older than fifty speak and understand Inanwatan well. Primary school children do not know the language; they speak regional Malay. At most, they have some passive lexical knowledge of Inanwatan. Whereas the Inanwatan people as an ethnic group number about 3,000, I estimate the number of people fluently speaking Inanwatan to be no higher than 800. The great majority of these speakers are also fluent in (regional) Malay. In most homes, children are daily exposed to both regional Malay and Inanwatan.

In this erosion process, the Inanwatan language is borrowing lexical items from Malay on a grand scale, and speakers constantly switch between regional Malay and Inanwatan. At the same time, the Inanwatan language still asserts itself in adapting Malay borrowings to the Inanwatan phonology and morphology. These phonological and morphological adaptation processes have drastic effects on the form of Malay loan words. In the speech of bilingual members of the Inanwatan community, one can find hundreds of pairs of words like *sekolah/sikorao* 'school', *tahun/taugo* 'year' (in which *-go* is the Inanwatan circumstantial postposition), *geredidao/kerja* 'work', *kaparo/kapal* 'ship', *ikowegei/ikut* 'to follow someone' in which an unadapted regional Malay word alternates with its adapted 'Inanwatan' counterpart. Many of these adapted forms have been around for a long time and have a stable, conventional form.

The meaning and range of reference of the adapted forms generally correspond to those of the unadapted regional Malay source forms. The sociolinguistic function of such oppositions as *sekolah/sikorao* 'school' is to signal and separate the two linguistic codes used in the community, namely regional Malay (without adaptation) and Inanwatan (with hundreds of adapted Malay lexical items).

The following fragment of a (spontaneous) conversation between Dominggus Muray and Yunus Mitogai¹¹ reflects both adaptation and code-switching processes, with adapted regional Malay items in bold, unadapted Malay items underlined:

(20) Muray:

ago sĭbidaro mĕqaro?
but church house
'But the church building?'

(21) Yunus:

ah sudah ya kunsistori terus plafon terus mimbari môteqogeritau
ah already yes consistory next ceiling next pulpit pulpit
panggung owói-qi-are
pulpit that.F.SG.-?-again
'Ah, yes, finished, the consistory and the ceiling and the pulpit also.'

¹¹ Dominggus Muray (67) is a retired health worker who received an education as a medical laboratory assistant during the rule of the Dutch. Yunus Mitogai (35) is a carpenter with primary school and high school education. Both men speak regional Malay fluently. Muray speaks Inanwatan fluently but Yunus Mitogai says he often 'jumps to Malay' when speaking Inanwatan because that comes easier to him.

- (22) Muray:
madéi oi-wébe? éwiqa mo popo-sa-be? i-wósu ara-owosu?
 already closed-be just there nail-FUT-3.S be-those still-those
 'Has it already been closed? Are they going to nail it? Are they still there?'
- (23) Yunus:
mungki móqo mútero-wo ará-owosu
 possibly month one-be.3SG.F still-those
 'Maybe they will stay one month.'
- (24) Muray:
agu-áwoqe qái-de-ta-sa?
 and-again follow-cross-go-FUT
 'And you want to go there again?'
- (25) Yunus:
iyó rencana begitu tapi ísido-wo nárido gerédidao
 yes plan thus but empty-be.3SG.F my work
e-wai hanya karena bu dia sendiri disana
 ATTR-this.F.SG just because older.brother he himself there
mungkin kekurangan-kekurangan, owóiwogé éra ne-qéro-sa.
 possibly shortages there for.him 1SG-saw-FUT
 'Yes, that is the plan but my work must be finished, just because my older brother, he is there on his own and maybe there are shortages, I am going to saw there for him.'

Yunus is a speaker of thirty-five years of age and his utterance (25) is typical for speakers of the middle generations: in his turn of the conversation represented in (25) he starts speaking regional Malay (underlined), switches to Inanwatan (with adapted Malay words in bold), switches back to regional Malay to finish his utterance in Inanwatan.

5 Inanwatan's relationship with neighbouring Papuan languages

According to Voorhoeve (1975), the Inanwatan language belongs to the Inanwatan family, one of the sixty odd families of Papuan languages. Voorhoeve (1975) states that the Inanwatan family has two member languages, Inanwatan and Duriankari. It is very doubtful whether Duriankari, reported by Voorhoeve (1975:440) as spoken on the island of Duriankari at the southern entrance of Sele Strait, still exists.¹² When I visited the Inanwatan-speaking community of the village Seget, situated at the southern entrance to the Sele Strait, in March 1994, the Inanwatan people there claimed that the Duriankari language was no longer used.

¹² In one of the flood myths of the Inanwatan, the Duriankari speakers are regarded as Inanwatan people who in ancient times were carried off to the Sele Strait's area by a flood.

Apart from the migrant communities of Sele Strait and Sorong, all speakers of Inanwatan live in one village, Inanwatan. To the east and north of Inanwatan, the Puragi language is spoken by around 1,400 people in the villages Saga, Puragi, Bedare and Isogo. Puragi belongs to the South Bird's Head family together with Arandai (Voorhoeve 1985). The western neighbour of the Inanwatan language is Yahadian, of the Konda-Yahadian family,¹³ which is spoken in the villages Mugim, Yahadian and (parts of) Kais by around 1,200 people.

In an initial survey, I found 8 per cent lexical correspondence between Yahadian and Inanwatan (sixteen corresponding words in 202 items). Inanwatan and Yahadian also differ very much in phonology and morphology. Yahadian morphology is very simple compared to Inanwatan; there seems to be no gender in Yahadian, whereas gender pervades Inanwatan morphology. Compare the following data from Yahadian (as spoken in the village of Mugim, the Yahadian village closest to Inanwatan).

Yahadian has twenty-one consonants and nine vowels; their phoneme status is uncertain. The Yahadian phonemes are as follows:

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveolo-Palatal	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosives						
voiceless	p	t	ts	c	k	
voiced	b	d	dʒ	ɟ	g	
Fricatives						
voiceless	ɸ				x	h
voiced	β				ɣ	
Nasals	m	n			ŋ	
Vibrants		r r				
Semivowels	w					

	Front	Central	Back
Closed	i ɪ		u
Half-closed	e		o
Half-open	ɛ	ə	ɔ
Open		a	

¹³ Konda, spoken in the villages Konda and Sisir in the Teminabuan district, and Yahadian seem to be dialects of the Konda-Yahadian language. Speakers of the Mugim-Yahadian variety claimed that they could easily understand Konda speakers. They also claimed that they could not understand Tehit, and that they hardly understood Puragi and the language of Makororo, a village on the Kais river where a dialect of May Brat is spoken.

CC clusters occur with [rC], [Cr] or [Nt]:

<i>'mɛrɛ</i>	'rotten'
<i>bə'bɪtɛ</i>	'evening'
<i>pru'ɛ</i>	'to bite'
<i>umrɛi</i>	'to pierce'
<i>hɔmanta</i>	'to sing'
<i>ɛdamta</i>	'to play'

Nasals and liquids can be found in word final position:

<i>'dɛtrun</i>	'bone'
<i>dɪ'gir</i>	'skin'

Morphological data from Yahadian are limited; note the following examples:

<i>ne/e/wo</i>	<i>rada</i>	<i>no</i>
I	PERF	eat
'I/you/he have eaten'		
<i>na/a/wo</i>	<i>rada</i>	<i>nore</i>
we/you/they	PERF	eat.PL
'we/you/they have eaten'		
<i>ne</i>	<i>ha(da)</i>	<i>no-ta</i>
I	DUR	eat-DUR/PRES
'I am eating'		
<i>na</i>	<i>ha(da)</i>	<i>nor-ta</i>
we	DUR	eat.PL-DUR/PRES
'we are eating'		
<i>orame</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>nanáigine</i>
man	this	bad
'this man is bad'		
<i>wa</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>nanáigine</i>
woman	this	bad
'this woman is bad'		

Typologically and lexically, then, the boundary between Inanwatan and its western neighbour, Yahadian, is sharp and clear.

The picture is radically different when we compare Inanwatan with its eastern and northern neighbour, Puragi. I found 25 per cent corresponding lexical items between Inanwatan and Puragi (fifty-two corresponding words in 199 items). Lexical correspondence percentages tend to turn out much higher in later research than shown in initial surveys. An initial survey of Puragi phonology and morphology revealed striking correspondences with Inanwatan, with cognate grammatical morphemes in the tense and gender systems. Therefore, future research may very well establish Inanwatan as the westernmost member of the South Bird's Head family rather than as the only surviving member of the Inanwatan family. Compare the phonological data in the Puragi phone inventory:

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveolo-Palatal	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosives						
voiceless	p	t			k	ʔ
voiced	b	d		j	g	
Fricatives						
voiceless			ç			
voiced	β					
Nasals	m	n				
Vibrants		r				
Semivowels	w			j		

	Front	Central	Back
Closed	i		u
Half-closed	e		o
Half-open	ɛ	ə	ɔ
Open		a	

Morphological data from Puragi include:

rabíni dá-i-qa badá-i-to
 man that-M-? bad-M-be.3SG.M
 'that man is bad'

ráwo dá-u-qa badá-o-mo
 woman that-F-? bad-F-be.3SG.F
 'that woman is bad/ugly'

Notice that the morphemes expressing gender and plural (-i masculine, -o/-u feminine, -u plural) correspond to Inanwatan.

In the Past tense, there is a Past marker {rá} with [-da] after *i*-stems corresponding to the Inanwatan Past marker with its allomorphs:

ni-dá-no 'I ate'
ni-dá-de 'you (SG) ate'
ni-dá-nedo 'he ate'
ni-dá-nomo 'she ate'
ni-dá-ninio 'we ate'
ni-dá-duro 'you (PL) ate'
ni-dá-numo 'they ate'

An important difference between Inanwatan and Puragi is the fact that Inanwatan has subject prefixes in most verb paradigms (including the Past paradigm) whereas Puragi seems to use suffixes in all verb paradigms.

6 Summary and research outlook

The Inanwatan language is a Papuan language with a complex verb morphology, with subject and object prefixes, and a pervasive gender system affecting all major word classes.

Inanwatan has a long history of intensive contact with Austronesian languages, namely: Patipi, regional Malay and Standard Indonesian.

Inanwatan is giving way to regional Malay/Indonesian in a process of generational erosion characterised by grand scale borrowing and frequent code-switching. Borrowed lexical items from Malay are drastically adapted to the phonology and morphology of Inanwatan but when speaking regional Malay the same items often appear without adaptation.

I have argued that Inanwatan may be the westernmost member of the South Bird's Head family, rather than the only surviving member of the Inanwatan family.

Voorhoeve (1975) has shown that the lexical links of Inanwatan and of other languages of the Bird's Head south coast to language families of central New Guinea (Trans-New Guinea phylum) are stronger than the lexical links to West Papuan languages of the Bird's Head peninsula. The complex morphology also sets Inanwatan (and other South Bird's Head languages) clearly apart from the surrounding West Papuan languages of the Bird's Head like Tehit, May-Brat and Moi.

However, structurally Inanwatan is not a typical Trans-New Guinea phylum language: it has no clause-chaining, no medial verb forms, no sequence and simultaneity opposition. On the other hand, it has a two-gender system, subject/object prefixes and inclusive-exclusive pronouns.

It is striking that this same constellation of structural (and lexical) properties is found in other language families of the New Guinea mainland south coast like the Marind and Trans-Fly. In future research, it would be worthwhile to study the possibility of viewing Inanwatan as a 'typical south coast New Guinea language' in an areal sense, and to see Inanwatan from the perspective of the coastal zone of south New Guinea, as an area in which a specific constellation of cultural, lexical and morphosyntactic traits was diffused.

Culturally, the twin themes of ritual sexual creation of life force (fertility) and headhunting (the violent taking of life force) recur in a significant fashion in the turbulent history of this coastal zone (Knaft 1993). The abundance of sago, the techniques to store large quantities of sago and the technology to build very large war canoes made constant, massive headhunting possible. This led to grand scale migrations, depopulations and repopulations, and ethnic groups being absorbed by other ethnic groups. The groups living along the New Guinea south coast travelled very far and with large war parties.¹⁴ As a result, the peoples of the south coast (including the swampy hinterland plains) became part of a complex and turbulent history of migration and contact, including contact with Austronesian groups settling in the south coast area. Dominant central south New Guinea coastal groups such as the Marind were both sources and causes of linguistic and cultural diffusion.

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